

### POOR-LAW BILL.

*Normandy, 30. July, 1834.*

THE letter which I intended to address this week to the Earl of RADNOR, I think it better not to address to him until the House of Lords have *done with the bill*, which will be most likely before the latter end of next week. The bill will *never go into execution*, though it may produce enormous mischiefs even by being passed. I insert below, upon this subject, a letter from Mr. ROGERS, extremely well worthy of the attention of my readers. It contains an addition to all that we have had before of what are the real objects of the bill.

### ABUSES IN THE CHURCH.

Nor to the Dissenters; not to any enemy of the Christian religion; not to infidel publications or infidel preachings; not to any error in her doctrines; not to anything unseemly or inconsistent with plain sense and reason in her ritual; not even to the general character of her clergy; not to any thing unjust or injurious in the institution of tithes or of church-dues; not to any greediness, generally speaking, on the part of the clergy in the collection of these; not to any of these; not to a want of attachment of the people of England, generally speaking, to the church; not to any of these, I say, but to the monstrous *abuses* in the *distribution of her temporalities* this church will owe her FALL, as, in some measure, the Catholic church in England did. Pluralist parsons tell you, that it

is nothing to the people, so that they have church-service, who it is that performs it, if it be but a parson of the church. This is a prodigious mistake. Of all the persons in this world the poorer parishioners all over England are the sharpest sighted. They have the fields, the meadows, the downs, and the woods, constantly before their eyes. Their habit, and almost instinct, teaches them the exact amount of the produce of them all; and they know to a scruple the ultimate distribution of that produce; and I venture to say that there is not a sane labouring man in any parish in England, who is not acquainted with the distribution of the tithes of his parish, and who does not know all about the rectory, the vicarage, and the curacy, and the amount of each; and it is a deep sense of the injustice to his parish and to himself, arising out of this abuse in the distribution; it is this, joined to the neglect arising from the same cause in the performance of the various duties of an incumbent; it is to these, and these only, that we owe all the *new sects* which have risen up within the last seventy years.

Amongst hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands, of cases, to illustrate the nature of these monstrous abuses, is the case of Mr. WRAY, vicar of BARDNEY, in Lincolnshire. But monstrous as this case is, it has been before the public for several years, without producing any very general effect. At last Mr. WRAY has resolved to petition the House of Commons; and his petition is, I believe, in the hands of Mr. HUME. This gentleman has had a long correspondence with the Lord Chancellor, with his diocesan bishop, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury. He appears to have sent a copy of this petition, together with a copy of all the documents, to all the members of the House of Commons, and amongst others he has sent one to me, with that which I suppose is a circular letter from himself. I shall here insert a copy of my

answer to his letter, and after that the whole of the correspondence between him, the Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Lincoln, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a copy of his petition. When the reader shall have gone through these with attention, I shall have to beg him to listen to some remarks from myself upon this monstrous case, and upon the outrageous injustice of suffering these abuses longer to continue.

LETTER FROM MR. COBBETT TO MR. WRAY.

*"Normandy, 30. July, 1834.*

"Sir,—I have received your letter of the 24. instant, along with the printed copy of your petition.

"Thirty years ago I began my efforts to *save* the church by the removal of these monstrous abuses, in return for which the clergy, as magistrates and as preachers, have done every thing that they were able to do to destroy me; and their satisfaction never appears to have been so great as when they thought they should succeed in these malignant efforts. They were quite on tiptoe, exulting in the prospect of seeing me crushed for ever by the villanous proceedings in Sussex, in 1831, in which they were mainly instrumental. Even in the reports now lying on the table of the House of Commons from the Poor-Law Commissioners, there are libels against me, by *name*, of the most atrocious character.

"The ground of all this malignity has been, not that I was an enemy of the church, and not that *they thought* me such, but that I was a formidable enemy to its abuses, and that I had reason and justice on my side. What would you think of a man, having been curate of a parish for twenty years, being put out upon the death of his rector, upon the *express charge of having brought Mr. COBBETT into the parish*; this *bringing* being merely my having stopped at his house, and slept there for two or three nights, and that only for once!

"And this, you will observe, while I

"have always contended for the legal rights of the establishment; while I have professed myself firmly attached to the religion of the church, in which I was born and bred; while I have represented it as the poor man's church; and while I have, consistent with the abolition of every unjust restraint on the Dissenters, laboured to uphold this establishment.

"Ah! but I made war upon its abuses; upon its impropriations; upon the crying injustice towards the working clergy; and in short upon all those abuses which will finally be its overthrow. With regard to your particular case, it is only one out of hundreds, and I may say out of thousands. It has happened to come athwart the well-being of a man of high spirit and of great talent. There is always a particular something which brings a great establishment or power to its end. The causes of every such end are generally numerous; the thunder rolls from a distance; sometimes approaches nearer, then recedes; but at last there is some particular cause that brings down the bolt. The rumblings that forebode the destruction of the church are heard from all quarters; but at last it must be some particular thing to give the fatal blow; and I think it very likely that your case may give that blow. It must lead to an investigation; and, as far as the subject comes within my reach, you may be assured that, on my part there will be neither neglect nor lukewarmness.

"I am,

"With great respect,

"Your most humble

"And most obedient servant,

"WM. COBBETT."

TO THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

The humble Memorial of John Wray, Vicar of Bardney, near Lincoln, Showeth,

That your memorialist has for twenty-eight years been a minister of the church of England, and has during that period creditably educated a family of thirteen



children. That all his emoluments from the church are confined to the vicarage of Bardney, of which the net income does not amount to fifty pounds per annum; the tithe being *appropriated to the Bishop of Lincoln who returns an endowment of eight pounds a year*, the remainder of his scanty remuneration being supplied by Queen Anne's bounty, and a Parliamentary grant. That he has necessarily, with so large a family and through so long a period, gradually consumed a small private fortune, in maintaining that decent respectability which becomes, and is expected from, his profession. That, his private resources being exhausted, he has felt himself compelled by a natural anxiety for the welfare of his family, eleven of whom are still unprovided for, to request permission of the bishop of the diocese to resign his gown, in order that he may, though nearly sixty years of age, apply himself to some other occupation for their better support. That his lordship the bishop, being satisfied as to the hardship of the case, has recently done all in his power to add a curacy to the vicarage; but that the arrangement having proved impracticable, your memorialist has been advised, and he hopes prudently advised, not to abandon his home and profession at such an advanced age, without first submitting himself to your lordship's consideration.

Your memorialist begs to observe that he is *nominally* rector of Manby near Louth, in this county, but that he derives no benefit whatever from it nor ever can. The peculiar circumstances under which your memorialist is the nominal rector are known to the Bishop of Lincoln, to whom your lordship is respectfully referred for any information you may desire; and trusting that your lordship will not deem this application an intrusion, your memorialist will only add, that the parish of which he is vicar for so small a stipend is nearly six thousand acres in extent, and requires full double duty the same as the largest and most wealthy benefice in the county.

JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE HON. C. A. PELHAM, M. P.

DEAR SIR,—The Lord Chancellor desires me to assure you that he really would be glad to serve Mr. Wray, but what can be done whilst his list is crowded with the names of individuals who have at least equal claims for preferment. The earnestness with which you press Mr. Wray's case is of course an inducement with the Chancellor to regret that there is so little hope of his lordship having it in his power to comply with the application.

Your faithful servant,

DENIS LE MARCHANT,

Principal Secretary to the Lord Chancellor.

Friday.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 12. March 1834.*

MY LORD,—I think it but right to inform your lordship that my application to the Chancellor has failed. On the 10. ult. I wrote again to Mr. Pelham, requesting him to ascertain if there was any probability of success. I insert the letter which I sent him, and the result of it.

[Here my letter to Mr. Pelham on the subject, and the above answer from the Lord Chancellor's Secretary were inserted.]

Hopeless, my lord, as my condition is now from any extraneous aid, or any exertion of my own, you will not be offended at my throwing myself upon your lordship, as my diocesan, for advice. To exist *at all*, much less in the character of a clergyman, upon a stipend which does not exceed the *board wages of a footman*, is impossible. If I have done so hitherto, it has been by sacrificing my little private property and involving myself in debt—circumstances, the latter of which render the future still more desperate. For my own part I know not what course to take. Unless your lordship can judge better for me than I can for myself—and, as my diocesan, I have some claim upon your consideration—I see no other alternative except *quitting the vicarage for a gaol*, and it would be folly in me ever again to return in the

character of a clergyman to a benefice which would *hardly enable me to live as a labourer*.

I cannot say that I should quit it without regret. Thirty years ago I found the church no better than a large barn. By exertions, which were not always productive of the most pleasing consequences to myself, and by personal contributions, which I could not always very well afford, I have rendered it one of the neatest churches in the county. Upon the house I have spent many hundreds, but I need not expatiate upon what your lordship already knows. I have been a good tenant; and it is a bitter reflection, that I may abandon, in the evening of my days, the improvements which it has cost me a quarter of a century to effect. I trust that the successor whom your lordship appoints, may be more fortunate in their enjoyment.

If your lordship can suggest any means by which I can possibly remain on the vicarage, I shall be very happy; but if I must bid farewell to it, *I cannot retain my clerical character* (as a member of the established church) *without depriving myself and family of bread*; and I should thank your lordship to advise me *how I may divest myself of it*, without incurring that sort of censure from authorities I am sworn to respect, of which I am by no means ambitious.

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's very obedient servant,  
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN  
TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*Buckden, 19. March, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12. inst. If I do not, in compliance with your request, offer you any advice, the sole reason is that I know not what advice to offer. I can only express my readiness to consider any plan which you may yourself suggest, of relieving you from your difficulties.

I am, reverend sir,

Your very obedient servant,  
J. LINCOLN.

THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD  
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 24. March, 1834.*

MY LORD,—I feel deeply sensible of the kindness of your lordship's letter, of Wednesday last, although it makes my situation still more desponding than before. It is in vain that I attempt to discover any plan to suggest for your lordship's consideration. That, from which I had some reasonable grounds of hope, having utterly failed, my own personal resources of extrication are exhausted; and, like a drowning man, I eagerly look to those who are in a situation to perceive and help me in my difficulties, for that counsel and assistance which I am no longer capable of exerting myself. I know not what to do, or what to ask. A friend the other day suggested to me that an act had been passed by which a diocesan was empowered to improve the endowments of benefices *of which he held the impropriation*; and, although I am not aware of the particulars of the act, it might perhaps be susceptible of some advantageous construction in my favour. Let me, however, not be deemed troublesome in again imploring your lordship's consideration generally, which I do most earnestly, for it is the only quarter to which I can now look for that advice and support of which I stand so distressingly in need.

Hoping still to hear from your lordship once more, before my ruin is irretrievable,

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's very obedient servant,  
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN  
TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*Buckden, 27. March, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—The act to which you allude, enables all ecclesiastical impropriators to augment their dependent vicarages or perpetual curacies either immediately with the consent of the lessee, or prospectively without his consent. You are aware that the rectory of Bardney is under lease for twenty-one years to *Lord Harrowby*; the lease will be renewable next year; the fine



paid in 1828 was not quite 250*l.*, and in consequence of the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has since taken place, Lord Harrowby probably will object to pay the same fine next year. If, however, he should not object, and I should consent to surrender the whole fine in order to obtain an immediate augmentation of the vicarage, that augmentation would scarcely exceed 20*l.* per annum. But *I cannot afford to surrender the whole fine.* The income of the Bishop of Lincoln is derived almost exclusively from impropriations, which one of my predecessors was compelled to take in exchange for the lands which formed the original endowment of the bishoprick. Those impropriations are let upon leases either for twenty-one years or three lives, the reserved rent being very small. The fines therefore upon renewal constitute an essential part of the bishop's income, and during the last two years have been so diminished in amount that the whole income of the bishoprick has fallen short considerably of the expenditure.

My intention was, in case Lord Harrowby should consent to renew, to give up a portion of the fine in order to obtain a prospective augmentation of 40*l.* or 50*l.* a year, at the expiration of the existing lease in 1849. This appeared to me to be the most effectual mode of permanently improving the vicarage. But if you can point out any mode by which you may yourself be benefited, as well as the vicarage, I shall not be unwilling to adopt it.

I am, reverend sir,

Your very obedient servant,

J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE  
LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 31. March, 1831.*

MY LORD,—Of course I was not aware of the difficulties which prevent your lordship from accomplishing what you would wish for the improvement of this vicarage, and deeply do I feel that they are such as to hold out no hope of your lordship being able in that shape to give effect to the kind desire you express for my relief. It is beyond the

scope of probability that I shall live to see the expiration of Lord Harrowby's lease, and any small addition to the endowment of the vicarage which it appears possible for your lordship to make in the interim, would be quite inadequate to produce any perceptible improvement in my condition. Under all the circumstances, I see no other prospect of my being able to preserve my footing as a clergyman, except that which has afforded so little promise, namely *the procuring some additional preferment to hold with my present.* Yet even now, with your lordship's support, it might not prove impracticable. Mr. Pelham, I am aware, has done all for me that he could; but I am assured that the Lord Chancellor professes to be any thing but desirous to bestow his patronage in the church, to the solicitations of political friends, and that as a general rule, (and an admirable one it undoubtedly is), he relies upon the recommendation of the several heads of the church, as having the best opportunities of knowing the merits and wants of their clergy. If such be the case, and I have been confidently informed that the Lord Chancellor himself has avowed it to be the policy he has adopted in the distribution of the numerous small livings in his gift, a second application might be made more successfully than my former one, if your lordship were to take it by the hand. Indeed, I should have no doubt of its success under your lordship's auspices, and with an earnestness proportionate to the wretchedness of my situation, I implore your lordship to vouchsafe to the request your most benevolent consideration.

I am, my lord,

Your lordship's very obedient servant,  
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN  
TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*Luckden, 2. April, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—I am under the necessity of returning you the same answer which I have given to other clergymen, who have requested me to apply to the Lord Chancellor in their behalf, *that I do not feel myself at liberty to make any appli-*

*cation to his lordship on the subject of the preferment in his disposal.*

I am, reverend sir,  
Your very obedient servant,  
J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE  
LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 7. April, 1834.*

MY LORD,—Circumstances over which neither I, nor perhaps any one, has control, seem to operate distressingly against me; and none more so, than that, with your lordship's kind disposition to procure for me the relief which I so much need, you should not feel yourself at liberty to support me in applying for it in the quarter from which it might most reasonably be expected. It is a great disappointment to me, but nevertheless I do not yet wish to abandon the view in which I have indulged. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury may probably not feel himself under the restraint which your lordship imposes upon yourself; and if so, your lordship's influence with him might indirectly be of the same service to me as if you had felt yourself at liberty to exercise it in the manner which I presumed to request in my last. The plan, therefore, which I suggest is, to submit my case fully to his grace, and entreat his good offices in my behalf; an entreaty which, if sanctioned by your lordship, from your knowledge of my situation, will, I am sure, have every possible effect. I hope my continued importunity on the subject is not offensive to your lordship, and that you will impute it entirely to the tenacity with which distress naturally clings to its only hope.

I am, my lord,  
Your lordship's very obedient servant,  
J. WRAY.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE  
LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 19. April, 1834.*

MY LORD,—I should not have troubled your lordship until you had apprized me of your sentiments respecting my proposed application to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; but, observing that the vicarage of Orby has be-

come vacant by the death of the Rev. Peter Bulmer, of Liverpool; and supposing that probably it may be one of those small benefices which are not an object to clergymen of consideration and influence, I hope that your lordship will not deem that I take too great a liberty in mentioning, that previous to my two immediate predecessors, Mr. Cracroft and Mr. Willis, who were men of high connexions, and therefore not in need of any additional provision at the hands of their diocesan, Bardney usually went with some other little preferment in the patronage of the bishop. The last it went with was Saxilby, in the time of Mr. Blenherasset. I hope your lordship will not be offended by my adverting to such having been the case; and of course I should not think of doing so at all, except on the presumed possibility of Orby being *too inconsiderable for the notice of any one whose pretensions and means are not so humble as my own.*

I am, my lord,  
Your lordship's very obedient servant,  
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN  
TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*London, 24. April, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—It is impossible for me to express any opinion respecting the probable result of the application which you contemplate to the Archbishop of Canterbury. If you make it, and his grace mentions the subject to me, I shall be ready to state to him my belief of the correctness of your representation of your circumstances.

With respect to the *living of Orby*, it must be given to *some one of the numerous applicants who have been for some time past on my list.*

I am, rev. sir,  
Your very obedient servant,  
J. LINCOLN.

[The above correspondence at this period was submitted to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. His grace expressed much concern at the circumstances communicated to him, but *did not feel authorized to make any recommendation to the Chancellor, and con-*



cluded with the following postscript:—  
 “I ought perhaps to add, that having been regularly ordained, *you are not permitted by the law to divest yourself of the character of a clergyman.*”]

THE REV. JOHN WRAY, TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 2. May, 1834.*

MY LORD,—I heard from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury yesterday on the subject of my proposed application to the Lord Chancellor. His grace's answer is substantially the same as your lordship's. His grace, however, admonishes me further, that “having been regularly ordained, I am “not permitted by the law to divest “myself of the character of a clergy- “man.” To divest myself of that character, when every hope is cut off of my being able to exist in it, is, my lord, not merely a selfish motive as regards *myself*, but a sacred duty as regards my *family*. But I would do nothing blindly; and I should feel obliged by your lordship informing me, the *nature of the perils and penalties I incur by carrying my intention into effect.*

As soon as I receive your lordship's answer, I purpose, as a last effort, to petition, not only the King, but both Houses of the Legislature, after having submitted to several members of each, a printed copy of the correspondence relative to my case, as the best and most sufficient elucidation of it. The object of my petition will be, either that I may be provided with *the means to support my clerical character, or be favoured with an indemnity for abandoning it*; and I confidently anticipate that it cannot but receive your lordship's sanction and concurrence.

Your lordship's early answer will additionally oblige,

My lord,

Your very obedient servant,  
 JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*Warren's Hotel, Regent-Street,  
 9. May, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—I thought it right, before I answered your letter, to communicate

with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and I understand from his grace that his letter to you contained no mention of *penalties*. I believe it however to be perfectly true, that, although you should abandon your ministerial functions and engage in a secular occupation, you would still *in the eye of the law be regarded as a clergyman.*

I am, rev. sir,

Your very obedient servant,  
 J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 16. May, 1834.*

MY LORD,—The word “*penalties*” was not literally mentioned in his Grace the Archbishop's letter, but their existence seemed to be plainly indicated by the caution which he suggested, that I could not divest myself of the character of minister of the church, after having taken orders as such; and if, as your lordship states in corroboration, *the eye of the law will regard me as a clergyman*, if I should abandon the functions of one, I must entreat your lordship to apprise me *what are the consequences* I should incur by making myself obnoxious to its surveillance. I stand greatly in need of *explicit counsel* on this point, and I hope your lordship will afford me it, as well as some intimation of the sentiments with which you view the petition which I contemplate to the legislature.

I am, my lord,

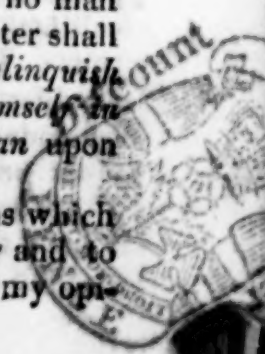
Your lordship's very obedient servant,  
 JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*Buckden, 20. May, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—I can only in reply to the former part of your letter refer you to the 76. Canon, which says, that no man being admitted Deacon or Minister shall from thenceforth *voluntarily relinquish the same, nor afterwards use himself in the course of his life as a layman upon pain of excommunication.*

With respect to the petitions which you contemplate to his Majesty and to the two Houses of Parliament, my opi-



nion is, that they will not be productive of any benefit to yourself; that they will not procure for you additional preferment; I may, however, be mistaken in this opinion; and I wish not to dissuade you from taking any step by which your present situation may possibly be improved.

I am, rev. sir,  
Your very obedient servant,  
J. LINCOLN.

FROM THE REV. JOHN WRAY TO THE  
LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

*Bardney Vicarage, 24. May, 1834.*

MY LORD,—I thank your lordship for the explicit information you have at last afforded me. I have indeed a most comfortable choice. *Utrum horum*—to retain my clerical character with *the meed of starvation*, or “to relinquish the same on pain of excommunication!” Excommunication, my lord, has lost most of the moral terrors, and many of the practical consequences, which attended it in former times; but even now it is something more than a bugbear or a form. It incapacitates a man, *durante culpa*, from bringing any action, personal or real; from giving evidence, in any court or suit; and even from making a testamentary disposition of his property. So at least says our greatest authority on ecclesiastical law; and you will remark, my lord, that this is not a mere obsolete and nominal liability, but a positive deprivation from a man’s security and rights. It is, in short, a sentence of outlawry against him in his dealings with mankind, and in most of the important business of life. It does not arm the law against him, but it takes from him the law’s protection. Under such a disadvantage in his commerce with the world, it would be in vain for him to attempt to procure a livelihood by any worldly calling. The case, therefore stands thus: The church, in return for my services, does not afford me the means of living, and effectually prevents me from procuring those means otherwise. If not content to starve in the church, I have the alternative of starving out of it. To excommunicate a man for aban-

doning his clerical profession, is, in point of fact, to excommunicate him from every other.

The question being susceptible of no other solution than this, my petitioning the legislature is no longer a matter of deliberation. That the legislature will hesitate for a moment, in granting relief to myself and others similarly situated, when the subject has been fully explained to them, I cannot believe. I enclose a form of the petition I shall present, containing the facts of my own individual case, and a general exposition of the principles of the church law by which I am aggrieved, and I confidently anticipate an assurance from your lordship, that you will be inclined to support the prayer of it in the House of Lords. Should I accidentally have misstated or mistaken any point in the petition, I shall feel obliged by your lordship affording me the advantage of your correction, and returning the draft at your earliest convenience.

I am, my lord,  
Your lordship’s very obediednt servant.  
JOHN WRAY.

FROM THE LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN  
TO THE REV. JOHN WRAY.

*Buckden, 27. May, 1834.*

REV. SIR,—In compliance with your request, I return the draft of your petition. I am certainly desirous to attend in my place when the petition is presented; and if you will be so good as to inform me to what member of the House of Lords you intend to intrust it, I will communicate with him and ascertain the day on which he means to present it.

I am, rev. sir,  
Your very obedient servant,  
J. LINCOLN.

The petition of John Wray, vicar of Bardney, in the county and diocese of Lincoln,  
Humbly Showeth,

That your petitioner has, for twenty-nine years, been a minister in the service of the church of England, during which period he has officiated for more



than twenty-eight years as vicar of Bardney.

That the whole of your petitioner's clerical income is derived from the vicarage of Bardney, his interest in another benefice, of which he is ostensibly the rector, being merely nominal; and his Lordship the Bishop of Lincoln having felt it his duty, in the year 1827, to *deprive your petitioner of a contiguous curacy, and impose upon him double service in his own parish, the same as is required upon the most wealthy and extensive benefices in the kingdom.*

That although your petitioner does not deny the correctness of his lordship the bishop's representation, namely, that a parish so populous as Bardney, is sufficient to occupy the exclusive attention of an incumbent, yet he begs humbly to submit that the income of the benefice is utterly inadequate exclusively to support one. That the rectory is appropriated to the *Lord Bishop himself*, who returns to the vicar an endowment of *eight pounds only a year*, and that the total net income of the vicarage, including the additions made to it by Queen Anne's Bounty, and a parliamentary grant, does not exceed fifty pounds per annum.

That with an income so incompatible with his situation, your petitioner would have found it impossible to maintain the respectability of his profession, even in the most homely manner, and still more to have educated a family of thirteen children consistently with his station and character as a clergyman, without some private resources of his own. That originally possessing a very small capital, he has gradually exhausted it in an effort during twenty-nine years to supply the deficiency in the legitimate means of his support; and that he is at last reduced, at an advanced age, and with ten children yet unprovided for, to the pittance arising from his impoverished vicarage.

Your petitioner implores your honourable House to believe that he intrudes upon its consideration with reluctance; and that he does not do so, until after having applied, not only through his diocesan and primate, but

through other high depositaries of public patronage, for relief, without effect or encouragement.

It is under these circumstances that your petitioner begs humbly to state that he was driven, by a painful sense of his duty to his family, to contemplate the necessity of his seeking those means of a livelihood in some secular occupation, which the church was incapable of affording him. That upon acquainting his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury with such an intention, his grace kindly intimated to your petitioner, that, having been regularly ordained, the law would ever regard his acts as those of a clergyman; and that his lordship, the Bishop of Lincoln, in explanation of the caution thus volunteered by his grace, has explicitly informed your petitioner, that, having been once admitted a deacon or minister, "he cannot afterwards use himself in the course of his life as a layman, upon pain of excommunication."

Your petitioner is aware that a sentence of excommunication has lost most of the moral terrors, and many of the practical severities which it inflicted in earlier times. Nevertheless, he presumes to recall to the mind of your honourable House, that even in the present day, it has a tacit operation of the most injurious tendency; that although it may not arm the law against the supposed offender, it deprives him of its protection; that it incapacitates him from bringing any action, real or personal; from giving evidence in any suit or court: and even from making a testamentary disposition of his property: in short, that although it may inflict no positive punishment or penalty, it subjects the party to civil disabilities which outlaw him, as it were, from the successful pursuit of any worldly occupation or profession; and leaves therefore to the unfortunate clergyman who may not be able to procure the means of subsistence by the discharge of his clerical duties, no other alternative but to *starve contentedly* in the performance of them, or to *starve as the penalty* for abandoning them.

Your petitioner, therefore, humbly

implores your honourable House to take his case into consideration, with the view of affording such relief as in its wisdom may seem proper, either by enabling your petitioner, and others similarly situated, to derive that support from the church, to which their services entitle them, *or by indemnifying them from the consequences* which they at present incur, when driven by necessity to seek the means of support elsewhere.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

JOHN WRAY.

Now, I put it to the reader, whether this be a state of things to be borne by the people of this country? Here is a clergyman officiating for a large parish, with far less income than a journeyman carpenter; and, if you take his ten children into account, with less to live upon than a common day-labourer in Surrey. He has the name, you see, of being the rector of another parish; but the Bishop of Lincoln takes away the tithes of the rectory all but *eight pounds a year*! And Lord HARROWBY, a *peer*, rents the tithes of the bishop; poor Mr. WRAY is rector only in name, except the eight pounds a year! And how comes there to be this eight pounds a year? Why, at the plundering Protestant Reformation, the tithes of this living were taken from the church and given to somebody else; or sold, or swapped, or something; but in this transfer an endowment was reserved for the rector or parson of the parish. Eight pounds a year were reserved for this purpose. But, the plunderers were not so unjust, and dared not set the people so completely at defiance, as to allot only eight pounds a year of the *present sort of money*. The money of that day was just about twenty times the value of the money of the present day; so that the plunderers allotted a hundred and sixty pounds a year for the rector, at any rate. The discovery of the mines in America, the lowering of the standard of money, and the issuing of paper-money, have brought down that which was a hundred and sixty pounds to eight pounds, the

nominal amount being still the same; and thus those who have made the laws, and who have, in divers cases, changed the laws to make salaries and other payments out of the taxes accord with the fall in the value of money, have suffered this crying, this monstrous abuse to remain. The salaries of the judges, of police magistrates, of soldiers, of sailors, of all persons in office, of every description, have been constantly rising, in order to keep pace with this fall in the value of money; but those who have made the laws have taken care not to suffer the endowments of the church to rise in the same way. This is one of the ways in which the church has been robbed, and which, in various instances, it has been impossible for an incumbent to live upon his living. In the meanwhile; while the livings have thus been swallowed up, immense sums have been granted, *out of the taxes paid by the people*, "to relieve the poor clergy of the church of England." When the reader of "*The History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth*," comes to the last chapter of that *history*, he will find that, during that regency and reign, one million five hundred thousand pounds were voted out of the taxes for the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England, while no one ever seems to have thought of restoring the endowments settled at the Reformation, which had been left to be swallowed up by the nobility, the gentry, their families, and dependents, while the working clergy have really been half starving.

Amongst my propositions at MANCHESTER was this, to abolish all tithes at once; to compel parsons to reside; to give them the church, churchyard, parsonage-house, and ancient glebe; to assure to them the church-dues, and for the rest, to leave them to the voluntary contributions of the people of the parish. I did not make this proposition because I thought that tithes were in themselves unjust or injurious; but because the distribution of them was become so intolerably unjust, and because I was satisfied that the *working clergy would most prodigiously gain by the change*.



I would much rather see all the tithes restored to the church, and see the poor relieved and the churches repaired out of those tithes, by a constantly resident clergy; but as this appears to be impossible, the other is the only alternative; and what a blessing such a change would be to a man like Mr. WRAY! As the matter stands now the revenues of the church are not employed for the purposes of charity and religion. That they ought so to be employed every man must allow; and there only wants the *will of the House of Commons* to cause them to be thus employed. However more of this another time; for it is one of the great and permanent evils of the country; one that threatens us with a dreadful revolution; one that the Parliament has it in its power to overcome; and to exercise which power is its bounden duty: but there is the other part of this subject; namely, the *dilemma* in which Mr. WRAY is placed, the *choice* which he has, of starving *in* the church, or starving *out* of it. In his letter of the 24. of May he describes the effects of his now daring to follow any secular occupation. I request the reader's particular attention to this letter, and to ask himself whether it be possible for this Parliament to suffer the law and the church to remain in this state? However, this must be a subject of discussion in Parliament. It is impossible that the affair can remain in this state; and with this observation I dismiss the subject for the present.

### INTENSE BANKING SCHEME.

I HAVE often had to observe that, in proportion to the clearness of the truth promulgated against opinions and projects is always the virulence of the party against whose opinions and whose projects such promulgation is made; and, if I wanted anything to convince me of the perfect correctness of my opinions relative to the new scheme of banking in Ireland, the *SPEECH* and the *LETTER*, which I am about to insert from the *DUBLIN Stewart's Dispatch*, would produce that conviction in my mind;

for, if men have reason on their side; if the scheme which they advocate be unassailable by argument and by fact, they laugh at opinions opposed to their own, and at all efforts to decry their projects.

I shall first insert the report of a speech made by Mr. DIXON, at a meeting of the subscribers to the new banking scheme, held in Dublin on the 26. July. I shall then insert a letter from the same paper of the 23. of July, which letter is addressed to myself. When I have inserted these documents, I shall make such remarks upon them as appear to me to be sufficient for the present.

### SPEECH OF MR. DIXON.

Mr. Dixon then said, I hold in my hand the last weekly *Register* of the notorious William Cobbett; and as it contains a somewhat lengthy article, the object of which is to bring into public disrepute the establishment whose interests we are now assembled to promote, I must crave your indulgence while I offer a few remarks, not only in defence of that establishment, but also of the motives which have induced its projectors to submit it to the approbation of the Irish public. This article, which is now making the circuit of the Irish press, and adopted as the first or leading article in this journal—better known than trusted—is headed “*Intense Humbug*”; and its author, after having run what I have no doubt he conceives to be a very felicitous parallel between the Irishman and the Yankee, in which Paddy has anything but the best of it, gives the prospectus, which you have all perused, at full length. He then proceeds to quote the second rule in this prospectus, which states that the capital shall consist of five millions, in one million of shares of five pounds each; and although, by the sixth rule it is, as he well knew, expressly provided that each individual may hold 300 shares, thereby rendering it a *possible* thing that the whole sum required may be advanced by 3,333 subscribers. He has, nevertheless, the folly, as well as the hardihood, to assert that not less than a million of

men (why all *men*?) in Ireland, each of whom has 5*l.* to spare, are necessary to make up the required amount. This is rather more than I should have expected even from the veritable Wm. Cobbett. Sir, I need not follow him through his random calculations about the men, women, and children, of whom the Irish population is composed, as he has so far only "set forth a naked and wilful falsehood, and as you have the bane and the antidote before you." But I proceed to his next assertion, that "it is a great, a gross, and monstrous delusion to suppose, that *if* such an establishment could succeed, it would benefit the country." Now, Mr. Chairman, as to the hypothesis *if* such an establishment could succeed. It is admitted, that "when a *small* portion of the community become bankers, and receive real money as interest for the paper that costs them nothing, there is sense, although there is roguery in the transaction"; and I suppose it will be admitted that these same sensible rogues being but a few, do succeed so far, at least, as to make money by the undertaking. And I would ask our precious logician what advantage ten persons would have over 10,000 in such an undertaking, especially as the greater number would possess a degree of public confidence (that essential requisite in banking), which the smaller could never hope to enjoy. Even if all the members of the community became co-partners in a paper circulation, or as Cobbett has it, in the trade of "lending paper-money to themselves," it would only be, that the many would then share the profits which we know the few at present exclusively enjoy. Let it be borne in mind, sir, that we are not (as this article would seem to imply) about to substitute a paper for a metallic currency, paper being already the circulating medium of this country—nor are we called upon to solve the abstruse and difficult question, whether such a substitution could be effected with a due regard to existing interests, or, indeed, whether it could be at all effected, in these commercial countries. Neither is it our

affair to solve another problem, namely, whether there be at present too much or too little paper-money in circulation; but our worthy and enlightened chairman has just handed me a statistical memorandum which would induce me to believe that Ireland is intensely suffering for want of a more extended circulating medium:

It seems that the Irish population amounts to - - - 8 millions.  
That the Scotch population amounts to - - - 3 ditto

Excess of Irish above Scotch population - - - 5 ditto

And yet, sir, there are 20 millions of money (of different kinds) circulating in Scotland, and only seven millions afloat in Ireland; this speaks trumpet-tongued in favour of an increase in the circulating medium of Ireland. To come, however, to the point in hand; we know the business of banking to be profitable, and we wish that its benefits should no longer be enjoyed exclusively by the rich, but that they should be shared by the middling and lower classes of the community. I have no doubt that more than half the capital of the country is possessed by persons who cannot spare so large a sum as fifty pounds, and would it be wise, would it be just to exclude half the capital of the country, and to shut out nine tenths of its inhabitants from a participation in the profits of what is designated a *national* establishment? I hardly need say that our objector *prophesies* that if more paper be put into circulation, the "whole thing will blow up of its own accord." This is one of those forebodings which he has put forth a hundred times, and which have been as often falsified by the event. We all remember his declaration, (made during his visit to America), that a New York *sixpence* would be worth more than a Bank of England note, within a period which has long since passed away. Nor need I say to you, sir, that "the plundering schemers," (as he calls them), who have given to the public their time and money to further the object of this establishment have been in-



fluenced by no other hope than that of benefiting a country which, although it possesses within itself inexhaustible resources, is, perhaps more wretched than any other on which the sun ever shone; but, sir, I am taking up too much of your time. (Cheers). Only let Irishmen act with union and vigour, and the cause *must* succeed. Away with our party prejudices, our political and our polemical animosities, and then this hoary-headed —. [Here the speaker proceeded in very severe strictures on Mr. Cobbett's political life, and continued]: Old as he is he may yet live to see this great undertaking no less successful in its results than I know the motives which have influenced its projectors to be in their origin, disinterested and pure. One remark more, and I have done. Much has been said on the subject of liability, and I wish it to be every where distinctly understood, that a clause has been added to the prospectus, which renders it, surely, I may say, impossible, that any liability can attach to any shareholder exceeding one-fourth of the amount of the subscription which he has actually paid up. Let it be also known, that although, as a maximum, the capital stands at five millions, no doubt is entertained, that one million will carry into effect the contemplated measure, and that the committee have not the smallest intention of ever calling for more than one pound on each share.

(Letter from the same Paper.)

TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.,  
"M.P. FOR OLDHAM."

Dublin, 21. July, 1834.

Sir,—In your *Register* of Saturday you have stated your intention to "blow up" the new Irish Agricultural and Commercial Banking Company, and you further state that it is founded, not in philanthropy, but in humbug, and after giving in your paper the thirty-five articles of the prospectus, you have the second-childishness to assert that "five millions of money divided into five-pound shares, require, to form the company, a million of men, each of whom must have five pounds to

"spare"; which latter assertion, with all the respect due to so much talent, I beg leave most respectfully to deny.

Secondly, You ask the projectors, "Do they know nothing of the blow which their glorious countryman Jackson, is giving to the whole system of paper-money all over the world; and do they not blush on reflecting that it is owing to the good sense and virtue of their countrymen, 'the Irish,' in the United States, that the President is enabled to pull down the monsters of paper." Answer: Quite aware of the whole thing, and have already placed before the Irish public (a copy of which was placed in Mr. Cobbett's hands) a view of the transactions, quite agreeing with Mr. Cobbett, and because the pro-projectors do foresee the tremendous results of a blow up of the "DEBT," they wish to procure a retreat for the Irish people who now have millions locked up in these funds, which Mr. Cobbett, by his "Norfolk petition and resolutions," would, certainly, to a considerable extent, demolish; how this is to be done is simply by investing the surplus capital of the company in land, which, come what may, cannot at any rate be blown up; and then your other query, Can they read those resolutions (passed by Irishmen in the United States, against the re-chartering of the London States Bank)? Can they read those resolutions, and not be ashamed of the promulgation of this "plundering scheme"? Indeed, they can, Mr. Cobbett, and at the same time, glory in the aforesaid resolutions of their countrymen in a foreign land, against the re-chartering of a London Bank, composed of "English noblemen, gentlemen, noble ladies, and English fundowners; in fact, an English institution leaning on the Bank of England." (Does Mr. Cobbett remember his own immortal definition of the American Bank, to which he points?) Yes! they can read, and glory in the understanding and patriotism of their countryman, the President, and of their countrymen, "the Irish," of the United States.

But you say, "this Ireland I have never seen. I ought to see it, for in such a case you cannot *know* without seeing with your own eyes. I intended to go at the close of this session of Parliament; but I hesitated. This banking scheme has decided me. *I am determined to go to the spot, and challenge the pro-projectors to meet me face to face.*" Yes, this is manly, and deserves to be respected; but why not state your intention, for surely *you must* have some such intention, of challenging also the pro-projectors of the "LONDON NATIONAL BANK OF IRELAND" to mortal combat?

Aye, William! you have those men on the spot with you, *will you challenge them?* We shall see. But do you seriously intend to come to Dublin to meet the projectors of the Commercial Bank face to face. Glorious idea! a hundred thousand welcomes, my dear fellow: a regular stand-up fight! half hour and half hour, *à la* Maguire and Pope! Oh, it will indeed be worth hearing! A pound a ticket for admission. We will *divide* the "dividends" in this concern at any rate.

Pack up, pack up, the weather is fine, the country beautiful, your *cough* is—all in *your* eye. We will give you some "GRUB" at any rate, and that not a bare "BONE," while you stop with us, probably invite you to stand for a county, do you *understand*, William?

Your very obedient servant,

ONE OF THE PRO-PROJECTORS OF THE  
NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL AND COM-  
MERCIAL BANK OF IRELAND.

I sent an Irishman to clean out a sty at KENSINGTON. He was a very good and dutiful man, and not apt to neglect anything; but I perceived that he had not done what I told him; and when I asked him why he had not, his answer was: "The ould divil was so *crase*!" These, his countrymen, seem to be as *crase* as my old sow was, and to be ready to deal as roughly with me as she was with him. She had *young ones*, and so have they; and, perhaps, they are fonder of their scheme than she was of her pigs. Such being the state of their

minds, I am not to wonder at any thing that they *say*; nor should I much wonder at any thing that they would *do*, if they could do it. I understand the hints of the letter-writer; but I, who was not afraid to go to EDINBURGH, with all the newspapers open-mouthed, beseeching the people to fling me into a ditch, am not to be frightened by the swaggering letter of an *anonymous* writer, who shows his poor spite by putting "*M.P. for Oldham*" within marks of quotation, as if it were a nickname, and not a reality. Poor, indeed, is the cause of the intense scheme, if its advocates be of a stamp like this.

This writer asks me, why I do not challenge the subscribers to the American Bank, who are living in London. I challenge them as far as I can; but they do not acknowledge that they are the supporters of the American Bank: they do not come forth and plead; and therefore to challenge them is impossible.

Turning from this very contemptible stuff to Mr. DIXON, and giving him full credit for that abuse which the editor of the paper has had the good taste to suppress, I shall only make an observation or two on the folly of this Mr. DIXON, who, to get rid of my objection to a whole people becoming bankers, tells us that the whole sum may be advanced by 3,333 subscribers; and yet, in another part of his speech, tells us of the universal profits to arise from this thing; tells us of the *whole community* sharing in the profits; tells us that the profits of banking will, if this scheme be adopted, no longer be enjoyed exclusively by the rich. Then comes the monstrous absurdity; then comes back this monstrous absurdity, of a *whole people profiting* by lending paper-money to themselves and paying the interest to themselves; out of which absurdity Mr. DIXON can never get, unless he at once confess that this is a specious pretence for establishing a new bank for the benefit of a few. One of these railers says, that the funds not being safe, the project is to lay out the *surplus capital in land*, which will be safe. But the difficulty always is to



discover where the surplus capital is to come FROM. It must consist of gains, and the gains must be *got from somebody*; and that somebody must make part of the community. I should like to see Mr. DIXON grapple with this point; lay aside his abuse of me for a while, and grapple with this: tell us how the whole of the community is to be a gainer; and yet to afford gains to the projectors of this bank: how I am to get money by issuing bits of paper, and make those gain who take the bits of paper from me.

But it comes out at last that though the shares are to be at five pounds each, "the committee have not the smallest intention of ever calling for more than one pound on each share"! This is a curious thing; and yet this is to diffuse plenty and happiness over eight millions of people!

But it is waste of time to say much here about this matter. I will say what I have to say at DUBLIN, and in every town in Ireland that I go to; and the hectoring and abuse of people like these speech-makers and writers will not make me believe that a country which pours out food for a considerable part of the inhabited world, does not contain its fair share of *men of sense*. Many gentlemen that I have known, and that I yet know, they being Irishmen, have said to me: "Come and see Ireland with your own eyes: you will find as many men of sound sense and judgment there as in any other country of like population." I believe this; at any rate, I am resolved to try it in a few weeks if I have life and health; and though I cannot say precisely at present, in what way the thing can be arranged, I shall be perfectly ready to meet the schemers, in any number, in the same way that I did Mr. ATTWOOD, at BIRMINGHAM. I shall be a stranger, it is true. I do not know that I ever saw five people that are now in DUBLIN; but my treatment must depend after all upon the *general feeling of the people*; and I will not for one single moment entertain the thought, that that feeling can be hostile to me. At any rate, I have a right to go, and go I will.

## HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

NUMBERS 17 and 18 of this work are just published. The other two numbers will be published in about a fortnight, the last number containing a chronological table of the principal events, and also an index; and the whole work complete, in *two* volumes, will be published at the same time. If any gentlemen have their sets of numbers incomplete, it will be necessary for them to complete them as soon as possible. The last number will contain a description of the state of the kingdom with regard to its foreign affairs. It will also contain a history of the taxes and of the expenses, during the twenty years of this most extravagant and squandering regency and reign. The amount of taxes, charges of management, interest of debt, charge for army, navy, ordnance, civil list, secret services, will be stated for the whole of this regency and reign; and, as I have brought this statement down to the close of the last year, it will be seen to what extent the country has gained by the reform of the Parliament, and by the efforts of the Ministry; and it would be gross injustice not to acknowledge that it has gained a great deal; though, in my opinion, not one half of what it ought to have gained, and what it must gain, and very speedily too, if a revolution be to be avoided. It is very true that Lord GREY's Ministry has brought down the taxes collected from the people from fifty-nine millions a year to fifty-two millions, notwithstanding the horrible waste of money upon the blacks; but to continue to raise fifty-two millions with wheat at the present price is absolutely impossible, without producing a convulsion in the country.

In this last chapter I have given an account of the state of the working people, of the trades, and farmers, during these twenty years; and of the great sufferings of the people arising from the extravagance of the Government. I have stated the rate of wages compared with the price of provisions;

so that the reader may see the cause of all the new and severe laws, and of all the innovations on the constitution of England, which constitute the distinguishing mark of this regency and reign, the years of which exhibited a regular series of measures for hardening the laws, for heightening the quality of crimes, and for the invention and infliction of new and severe punishments.

Surprising nonsense it is to pretend that history is best to be written a very long time after the death of the person whose history you write. Just the contrary is the fact. What, not write the history of a man till the transactions of his reign are forgotten, or the facts relating to them are to be found but in a very few hands! If this were true, all the maxims relative to the truth of evidence must be false. We are told that we are TOO NEAR to the reign of his late Majesty to write a true history of it. We are too near to write a false history of it; but we cannot be too near to write a true history of it, except, indeed, that, as truth may be a libel, we may be too near to say certain things, for fear of getting *singed*. But, to say that we are too near to be able to write the truth is a most monstrous proposition. Why, then, as I once before observed, a man can judge best of a bottle of wine a year or two after he has drunk it. POOR OGDEN was, while in the dungeon at Horsemonger-lane, too near to SIDMOUTH's blessings to be able duly to estimate them. The starving Irish too near the blessings of beneficent sway; and the poor Queen was a great deal too near to the "*mild and beneficent sway*" (as Sir Robert PEEL, called it) of her husband, to be able duly to appreciate its goodness. A trial in a court of law is much more likely to end in justice, when the transactions to which it relates have taken place many years before, and when all those who took an active part in it are dead! When a witness swears in reference to a written memorandum that he has made, he ought to be told that to make his evidence good for any thing the memorandum must be written long

and long after the transaction took place. In short, this is the old cant of the rascally rabble of mercenary writers who are hired to keep silence while the facts are fresh in the minds of the people. There is something so monstrous in the idea that those of one generation are to write the history of another generation, that common sense must ascribe it to a base motive. I will let the nation see that we are not a bit too near to this regency and reign to be able to show that *then* it was; partly before, to be sure; but that then in particular it was, that the foundation of all these troubles, all these miseries, all this ruin, was laid; and that the nation, the Parliament, the Ministers, are all now struggling amidst the difficulties which were then created. This history will be comprised in two proper-sized duodecimo volumes; and when they go forth to the world I put it in the power of every young man in the kingdom to know as much as I myself know about the ruinous measures, and the intolerable sufferings of that regency and reign.

### BUDGET.

NOTHING will ever satisfy ninety-nine hundredths of the people until the malt-tax be taken off: taken off it must be if there be to be peace in England; but, in the meanwhile the budget has given great satisfaction in the country. The house-tax and the servant-tax, trifling as they were in amount, were monstrous in point of injury. It accidentally happens that a small farmer, seventy-five years of age, is my next neighbour. If he rode one of his cart-horses to church or to market, there was the saddle-horse-tax, and a tax for the servant to look after the horse. He has two miles and a half to walk to church, and five miles and a half to a market, and there is his horse in the stable on a Sunday doing nothing, and, to walk to the market and back again is quite terrible for a man of his age. Though exactly similar cases are not frequently to be found, cases nearly similar are to be found in every parish in the kingdom. A farmer



may be *lame*: no matter, he must walk or stay at home. Then it was of all things of importance to remove an impediment to a boy being kept in a farmhouse. Every part of the budget is judicious and good as far as it goes; and, if a repeal of the malt-tax were added, I should begin to hope that the country might see better days, without a hub-bub revolution; and without any more of the beastly Malthusian nonsense. They may talk of the spirit of the age as long as they like; but the spirit of this age in England is what it was in all other ages: an appetite for plenty of meat and bread, and a thirst for plenty of good beer. Let the working people have these, and there will be no need of bastilles and prison-dresses to keep them in order.

### POOR-LAW BILL.

SIR,—The Lord Chancellor, in his speech on the second reading of the Poor-Law Amendment Bill, devoted no very inconsiderable portion of his eloquence to a vindication of the economists of France from the charge of entertaining republican opinions prior to the first revolution in that country. What were the political opinions of those gentlemen at that period is now a matter of history, and is perhaps as well known to those he addressed, as to his lordship himself. A far more interesting matter to their lordships is the question, What are the political principles of the English economists of the present day?

I had the honour of addressing to you in Maylast, a letter on this very interesting question, and although I cannot suppose that the Lord High Chancellor of England, in his vituperative denunciation of those who charged his darling political economists with republicanism, had any reference to so inconsiderable a person as myself; yet, having put forward an opinion to that effect, I consider it due to my own character that I should justify my conscientious adherence to the opinion I have promulgated.

If the members of the House of Peers, satisfied with the illustrious station assigned to them by the constitution, and willing to fulfil the duties to society imposed on them by that station, were to bend from the exclusiveness of their manners, and mix more intimately with the people, they would know much more than they do of the people, instead of being deceived, as I am afraid they are at present, by mere hangers-on, who, it is to be feared, are now the only channels of their information. If this exclusiveness was more relaxed than it is, there would be no occasion for their lordships to obtain information from my Lord Brougham, as to the republican or anti-republican opinions of the political economists as a body, it being notorious to all those of the middle classes who mix with them, that they make no secret of their anxiety for the republican form of government, and that they abundantly use the battery of small wit against what they term the absurd prejudices in favour of hereditary distinctions.

And what is the republic which they are preparing for us? Is it the *res publica* or good of the whole? Is it a government founded on the interests and seeking the good of the productive millions? Oh no, this is not their theory. Their republic is to pull down all that *mere money cannot now reach*, while it is to plunge the labouring man into a still lower gulf, and make him a still more miserable instrument for increasing the stores of the wealthy capitalist.

Lord Brougham appears to have exhausted both his voice and his temper with incessant repetition of the words ignorance and presumption, as applicable to all those who oppose the views of the economists; why what presumption is equal to that of these self-complacent philosophers? The laws of natural feelings, in all ages; the wisdom of the Bible; the testimony of the superior men of all past times; the experience of centuries in our social institutions, and the present feelings of mankind, are all to stand as nothing before them, and their pretended science of fifty

years' growth. Nothing is sacred from their ridicule; and with them every thing which they cannot comprehend, is immediately to be run down as a "prejudice."

And what is the stock of wisdom and knowledge on which they found their extravagant pretensions; The value and extent of both is best found in their contradiction of the opinions of each other, and, at short intervals, of themselves. Sometimes short population is the evil, and early marriage the remedy; presently surplus population is the evil, and then hey for emigration; sometimes a sponge is to stop the progress of the world, and presently the sponge is put by, and a squirt is to set every thing to rights; sometimes under-production of food is the cause of misery, presently over-production is the evil, and soon after they discover that we ought not to be a producing, but a manufacturing nation, dependent upon the custom of foreign nations for the bread we daily eat; sometimes political economy requires that the unenclosed land should be taken from the poor, and a few years after it finds out that it is proper that the poor should have portions of the enclosed lands. For a long time, extended issue of Bank paper was the most wonderful discovery of the economists' wisdom, and they denounced gold as an expensive encumbrance, then paper was the encumbrance and gold the desideratum, while in both theories they evinced a wonderful ignorance of the relation between the two mediums.

But the surpassing laurel of the economists' school was the discovery of a new principle of society—think of that, Master Brooke—spick-span new, not known in the dark ages, and all found out in Westminster into the bargain. "The greatest happiness of the greatest number." Oh what a fuss they made about this discovery! Reviews, magazines, newspapers, and the economist coteries, were incessantly referring to what they quaintly called the greatest happiness principle, and woe to the man who doubted its value, or looked surprised at what it meant. Alas! this

laurel is fading like the rest; we hear very little of the greatest happiness principle now, and no one can guess the reason why, unless it is that the economists have learnt that their brother philosophers of New Zealand had previously discovered the principle and acted upon it, too, when convenient, for there the greater number roasted the smaller number, and found their greatest happiness in eating the minority for dinner.

But to return to the Poor-Law Amendment Bill and the republican principles of the economists. Are the lords aware that there is a club in London composed principally of these philosophers of the sponge and squirt? That the man who is generally supposed to have been the prime concocter of the poor-law project, was one of the founders, if not the real founder, of the club; and that republicanism is drunk as a toast at the dinners of this club.

I was some time ago applied to by a member of this club to allow myself to be proposed as a member, which I declined: because, as I alleged, they were republicans and I was not one. The gentleman expressed no surprise at the charge, but he did express surprise at finding that I did not participate in the same opinions.

If the lords will follow up the train of thought here suggested, they will have no difficulty in seeing the connexion between political economy, republicanism, and the poor-law project. They will see that this is a scheme to lessen the influence of the nobility and land proprietors in their several localities; a scheme to make them appear to the public as opponents of the right of the labouring poor to ample support from the land, thereby depriving the aristocracy of the sympathy of the millions, and thus render them powerless when the capitalists and their tools, the economists, may consider it expedient to abrogate their titles, and take their land from them.

Can the lords doubt that this bill is intended to lower the wages and lessen the means of the labouring class, or can they doubt that the labourer will



not trace the effects of the law to the hereditary legislators who enacted it, and who (they will have learnt from the Chancellor) enacted the law to prevent their own estates from being *engulfed*. When the comforts of the artisan are reduced, the labourer brought to coarser food, the husband separated from the wife, children from their parents, poverty, age, and infirmity, treated as crime and punished with imprisonment, in buildings distant from the scenes of their past happiness; is it to be imagined that all these persons will not think and inquire as to the cause of their suffering, or that they will not discover that their suffering is the penalty paid for the lords' estates *not* being *engulfed*? It may be said that the odium (if odium there be) of this measure will be equally shared by both Houses of legislation. Alas for the lords, they must endure it all, their House is a permanent body, their persons may die, but their titles remain; and even if the struggle is deferred beyond their own time, their sons may (when the struggle comes) be made to pay the penalty of their fathers' legislation. With the lower House it is very different; the Commons of one period may reprobate the acts of another period, without any danger to the institution itself, and as to the members, they will have mixed with the general mass and have vanished from public view.

If the lords knew their own interest, they would reject the poisoned bowl, and declare for the rights of industry; they would fall back upon our Anglo-Saxon institutions, restore them to pristine purity, and adapt them with good faith to the habits of the people; they would seek the salvation of their order by greatly reducing the expenses of government; they would greatly reduce, if not entirely destroy, standing armies, and centralized police; they would restore the dominion of the sheriff's wand; they would open the corporations, open the vestries, extend the national suffrage to working men, and teach the people that the experience of a course of centuries, is more valuable than the inexplicable theories of visionaries and jobbers, who, however clever

in talk, in fact, and other pettifoggish requisites, have not caliber of mind sufficient to comprehend the great principle of equal individual right on which the welfare of society hangs.

I am, sir,

Your very obedient servant,

GEO. ROGERS.

58, High street, St. Giles,

26. July, 1834.

To Mr. W. Cobbett, M. P.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

(From the Times, 29. July, 1834.)

SIR,—Let us suppose the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill become law, and in operation in some of the worst-managed agricultural districts. Let us suppose some success in the reduction of pauperism to be the consequence, and the advocates of the bill, especially the country gentlemen, exulting accordingly. Lord Brougham, the champion of the measure, declared, according to your report of his speech on the 21., that, "as it was evident a discretion must be lodged somewhere" (how it is evident I do not know), "he had no hesitation in saying that the powers given to the commissioners must be discretionary — must be arbitrary." Upon the Lord Chancellor's authority, then, and without further argument, I assume that the present is an arbitrary measure, and I think that neither he nor any other member of the present Government will maintain that any arbitrary measure can be sound in principle, or permanently advantageous. The furthest they can go is to justify it as an expedient to meet, as Mr. Pitt used to say, "existing circumstances"; and let it not be forgotten that it was to meet existing circumstances, and far more urgent ones than the present, that the 36. of George III. was passed, whereby a discretionary, or it may be called an arbitrary power, was given to magistrates, independently of the parish authorities, to which power alone, be it remembered, is attributable the present amount of evil flowing from the poor-laws. That was a false principle on one side; the present is a false principle on another; but how are we to hope for

better results in the long run? For the essence of the evil consisted then, as will be the case now, in the foreign control, in deserting the only safe principle, that of well-organized self-government. It is boldly assumed that parishes have shown themselves incapable of managing their own affairs, when the indisputable truth is, that they have not been allowed to try; and the proof of what they would be able to do is afforded in the example of Scotland, and in a few beginnings here. But, sir, I am wandering from my original intention, which was to introduce a passage from a speech of Cæsar, recorded by Sallust, and brought to my recollection as applicable to the bill acknowledged by Lord Brougham to contain an arbitrary principle. The passage is as follows:—"Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt: sed, ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minus bonos pervenit: novum illud exemplum ab dignis, et idoneis, ad indignos, et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò cæpere pessimum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare. Eò populus lætari, et meritò dicere fieri. Post, ubi paulatim licentia, crevit, juxta bonos et malos libidinosè interficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit." Which I thus, as it were, paraphrase and apply,—“All bad precedents have arisen from beginnings having some show of good. But when the government falls into the hands of ignorant or ill-disposed men, the newly created power is transferred from the worthy and the fit to the unworthy and the unfit. The present administration proposes to set three commissioners over the parishes to control and direct their affairs. Now should the present administration go out, and be succeeded, either in the first instance or at any time hereafter, during the existence of the proposed new law, by persons of arbitrary or jobbing propensities, all which may well happen, the three commissioners would no doubt be dismissed, and their places supplied by mere tools

of the Government, whose only aim would be to use their enormous powers in increasing the influence of their patrons, in aggrandizing themselves and their connexions, in annoying all who were opposed to them, and in intriguing and bribing at elections. This would be the inevitable consequence sooner or later of taking away from the people the control of their own affairs, and setting over them three men with unlimited powers. The commissioners will no doubt at first confine their interference to the worst parishes, and endeavour to do away with abuses acknowledged and hated by all, at which the country gentlemen will of course rejoice, and say they have done well. But it is to be feared that the intoxication of success, the growing love of power and patronage, the jealousy of rivalry, and the applications and intrigues of place-hunters and jobbers, will ere long operate upon the best-intentioned, and induce them unwarrantably to extend their interference into the best managed parishes as well as the worst; and where they cannot persuade, to endeavour to overawe. Should a war break out, is it not to be feared also that local taxation will be made subservient by the commissioners, as it was heretofore by the magistrates, with less powers, to recruiting the army, increasing the revenue, and appeasing discontents? Should a general election ensue, and the present or any future administration be hard pressed, can it be expected that the most powerful political engine ever devised will not be put in action for party purposes? Under such circumstances, what will become of the professed object of the bill? It will be first passed by, and then forgotten. Thus may this free state become a commissioner-ridden country, and the gentlemen of England have bitter cause to regret their senseless exultation\* at a measure from which they vainly hope to increase the value of their estates by getting rid of the duties attached to them.” But per-

\* The report of the committee was brought up amid loud cheers.



haps it will be said the control of Parliament will operate as a check to any abuses from the extraordinary powers conferred on the commissioners. Lord Brougham shall answer that from his speech above cited, wherein he says—"Did not this show how long a bad system might prevail even against the interest of the general body, when it contributed to the advantage of certain individuals? How long might a bad system prevail in every vestry and parish in England before men's eyes were opened—ay, and after they had been opened?" Let the centralization system be once established, and does not Lord Brougham's reasoning apply as well to a Parliament as to a vestry, to the nation as to a parish? If men will not open their eyes, or being opened, they will not act in matters at their own doors, is it to be expected they will be more alert in national affairs?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.  
July 26. THOMAS WALKER.

### POOR-LAW BILL.

THE following petition has been presented to the House of Lords from the parish of ALBURY in the county of Surrey. It is excellent; and not at all less excellent on account of its containing just the same doctrines and sentiments as are contained in my little work called the "*Poor Man's Friend*," which contains every authority mentioned here, except that of LOCKE, which is a great authority, and for the pointing out of which I am exceedingly obliged to the author of this petition. I recommend this petition to the best attention of my readers. The principles of it are taught us by the Word of God itself; and the projectors of this bill may assure themselves, that these principles are written in the hearts of the people.

#### ALBURY PETITION.

That while the church is set to show an example of obedience to the powers that be, because they are ordained of God, it is also set to instruct princes in righteousness, and to exhort rulers to the practice of justice and mercy.

That as the first duty of the father of a family is to provide for those, who by reason of any mental or bodily infirmity are least able to take care of themselves, so is it the first duty of every government to provide subsistence and all other necessities of life to the poorest citizens.

That the right of being thus provided for is common to the whole family of men, which no human authority is competent to infringe, for rulers are ordained of God to be the channels of blessing to their brethren, and their power may be exercised in devising the best means of communicating, but may not be employed to withhold those blessings; as set forth by the following authorities:—

"Reason tells us that all men have a right to their subsistence, and consequently to meat and drink, and such other things as nature affords for their preservation. We know that God hath not left one man so much to the mercy of another that he may starve him if he please. God, the Lord and Father of us all, has given no one of his children such a property in his peculiar portion of the things of this world, but that he has given his needy brother a right to the surplusage of his goods, so that it cannot be denied him."—Locke.

"In case of absolute necessity, the right of using things as if they remained in common must revive and be in full force. Such a right is for the preservation of natural equity against the rigour and severity of property."—Grotius.

"When a person reduced to the extreme want of necessary food and of clothes to cover his nakedness, and yet cannot by his entreaties, by offering an equivalent, or by engaging to work it out, prevail upon those who have enough and to spare to let him partake but of their superfluities, he may, without being guilty of theft, either forcibly or privily, relieve himself out of their stock, and especially if he does it with full intention to pay the value of what he takes whenever his better fortune give him the ability. For indeed common humanity obliges a man of circumstances to help and assist people in such a distress, and though regularly speaking

what depends on charity and courtesy ought by no means to be extorted by violence, yet the force of extreme necessity is so great as to make these things as recoverable as if they were absolutely due by a formal obligation."—Puffendorf, cxv.

Such being indisputably the law of God, Judge Blackstone declares that "this law of nature being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times: no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this. (Lord Chief Justice Hobart has also advanced that even an act of Parliament made against natural justice is void in itself, for *jura naturæ sunt immutabilia*, and they are *leges legum*), and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original."—Introduction 41.

"Those rights which God and nature have established, and are therefore called natural rights, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them; neither do divine or natural duties receive any stronger sanction from being also declared to be duties by the law of the land."—54.

"The absolute rights of every Englishman, as they are founded on nature and reason, so they are coeval with our form of government, and their fundamental articles have been from time to time asserted in Parliament, as often as they were thought to be in danger. First by the great charter of liberties, afterwards by the statute called *Confirmatio Cartarum*, whereby the great charter is directed to be allowed as common law; all judgments contrary to it are declared void; copies of it are ordered to be sent to all cathedral churches, and read twice a year to the people; and sentence of excommunication is directed to be as constantly denounced against all those who by word,

deed, or counsel, act contrary thereto, or in any degree infringe it."—128.

"Whatever is done by a man to save either life or member, is looked upon as done upon the highest necessity and compulsion. And the same is also a sufficient excuse for the commission of many misdemeanours. The law not only regards life and member, and protects every man in the enjoyment of them, but also furnishes him with every thing necessary for their support. For there is no man so indigent or wretched but he may demand a supply sufficient for all the necessities of life from the more opulent part of the community, by means of the several statutes enacted for the relief of the poor."—131.

And in the passage in which Blackstone objects to the latitude with which this doctrine is laid down by the civilians, he does it upon the express ground that "by our law such sufficient provision is made for the poor by the power of the civil magistrates, that it is impossible that the most needy stranger should ever be reduced to the necessity of thieving to support nature," and that the arguments of foreigners must lose all their weight and efficacy in England, where charity is reduced to a system, and interwoven in our very constitution.

Such being the immutable rights of every man, which no legislature has authority to infringe, the law books speak everywhere the same language. "It was ordained that the poor should be sustained by parsons, rectors of the church, and by the parishioners, so that none of them die for want of sustenance."—*Mirror*, 133.

Judgment is stayed in various cases, one of which is "in poverty, in which case you are to distinguish of the poverty of the offender, or of things; for if poor people, to avoid famine, take victuals to sustain their lives, or clothes that they die not of cold (so that they perish if they keep not themselves from death), they are not to be adjudged to death, if it were not in their power to have bought their victuals or clothes; for as much as they are warranted so



to do by the law of nature."—Mirror, c. 4, 5, 16. "Those are to be deemed burglars who feloniously, in time of peace, break into churches or houses, or through walls or doors of our cities, or our boroughs, with exception of children under age, and of poor people, who, for hunger, enter to take any sort of victuals of less value than twelve pence."—Britton, c. 10.

"The law chargeth no man with default where the act is compulsory, and not voluntary, and where there is not consent and election; and therefore, if either there be an impossibility for a man to do otherwise, or so great a perturbation of the judgment and reason, as in presumption of law man's nature cannot overcome, such necessity carrieth a privilege in itself. Necessity is of three sorts—necessity of conservation of life, necessity of obedience, and necessity of the act of God or of a stranger. First, of conservation of life, if a man steal viands to satisfy his present hunger, this is no felony nor larceny."—*Bacon's Law Tracts*.

In the 15th of Richard II., an act passed, requiring "that in every license to be made in the Chancery of the appropriation of any parish church, it shall be expressed that the diocess shall ordain according to the value of such church a convenient sum of money to be paid and distributed yearly of the fruits and profits thereof to the poor parishioners, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever."

Thus, then, is the right of the poor to be maintained by their richer neighbours established upon the fundamental principles of the law of nature, and the common and statute laws of this realm—a right prior and superior to that by which your Lordships possess your respective titles and estates.

A bill is now before your honourable house which deprives the poor of this right, and repeals all the laws by which they are entitled to demand support in case of necessity.

The ancient laws compelled certain officers to support the poor, and gave to magistrates the power of seeing that these officers performed that duty. This

bill compels no one to support the poor; says that certain individuals may order relief, but does not say they shall order relief; nor does it empower any one to see that they do order relief. The bill creates a power which is admitted by the authors to be altogether new and unprecedented, for it gives to individuals the option of deciding whether in case of famine, distress, or sickness, any necessitous person shall or shall not receive relief, and the terms on which that relief shall be granted; it gives to those individuals power to make what orders, rules, and regulations, they shall think fit. They may shut up all the necessitous poor in workhouses, separate therein husbands from wives, and parents from children, contrary to the law of God; which separation is not purely hypothetical, for it is recommended by the supporters of the measure. The bill repeals the law which limits the distance from their parents at which children shall be apprenticed. The commissioners are authorized to apprentice the children of the poor without their parents' consent, or they may compel that consent by any treatment they please in consequence of refusal. The children may be apprenticed to persons going out to the colonies, and if the apprentice refuse to go, they may have all support at home for the future refusal of them; and whilst young girls may be removed to any distance from their parents, the fathers of bastard children are exonerated from the burden of supporting them, which burden is thus made to fall exclusively upon the mothers; and against any act of cruelty and oppression which the commissioners may suffer or commit, no magistrate has power to interfere.

Your petitioners beg to represent to your honourable House that this measure is in violation of the first principles of divine justice and of the rights of man; and that, therefore, in passing it the legislature will outstep the purposes for which it was ordained of God, and cannot look to his support in causing such a law to be obeyed. Yet it is only as he puts his fear into the hearts of the people that they are obedient to

those who rule over them; and if the rulers despise his protection, and imagine that they can by mere brute force retain the people in subjection while acting in defiance of his precepts, he will withdraw his fear from the people, and thereby hasten the rupture of every remaining link by which society is still feebly held together, in righteous judgment on a nation over whose councils not he, but the spirit of the age, avowedly presides.

## POOR-LAWS.

### LETTER V.

*Dumfermline, 27. July. 1834.*

POOR MAN'S FRIEND,—I was much amused at the theatre the other evening, by seeing the doctor made to swallow his own pills: and as Brougham and the poor-laws were, during the previous day, uppermost in my mind, the idea was instantly suggested of a similar punishment for the conscienceless keeper of the King's conscience; and on recurring to his speech, I see he, himself, anticipated something of the kind: "If I am a Westmoreland pauper, as I shall soon be if —." Were the hiatus which I have left, filled up with the words, "this bill becomes law, and its enactments be enforced," it is not impossible that his lordship's hypothesis may become a prediction. The conserved lords have often predicated, "Take away the clergyman's tithes, and your lordships' rents will follow." I may doubt their prudence, though I cannot altogether dissent from their opinion; but if the argument will at all hold as to the spoliation of the church, it will do so to a certainty, and in a much higher degree, to the spoliation, robbery, transportation, and indirect murder of the poor, "the surplus population," as devised by this infernal demon and his hellish coadjutors.

I have shown that, on the principles of primeval and equal right, the whole rent of the whole land belongs to the whole people. But it has been generally conceded hitherto, that a landed aristocracy is, upon the whole, utile:

and, as long as the poor get as much from the rent-fund as will keep them in physical health and tolerable comfort, what is called the present rights of property may remain unquestioned: if "the paupers of Westmoreland" are permitted to enjoy their humble birth-rights; their right to live on the lands of Westmoreland, my Lord Brougham and Vaux may continue in the undisturbed possession of Brougham-hall, and all the luxuries it affords. But if the poor man's natural right in the soil is wrested from him, shall the rich man's artificial right be secure? It will not, indeed. Even Lord Brougham, or, at any rate, his descendant or "next of kin," may be forced to enter the work-house of his own building, to wear the dress of his own or his commissioners' invention, and to live in that "unremitting toil," and to feed on that "coarse and scanty fare," which himself has recommended. Already the working people begin to reason on the right of inheritance in land by descent; and thus I hear them reckon the genealogies of possessors: "Rackrent, who was the son of Downright, who was the son of Eatmuch, who was the son of Swillmuch, who was the son of Kill-many, who —"; leaving a hiatus and descending to the root of the genealogical tree; "*who was born of her that had been mistress of a Nor-man robber*"! I might go much further, and tell you how they reason on the rights of *squattage*, conquest, and purchase, and draw from the premises of Locke, and Paley, and of yourself, sir, very different conclusions, indeed. Is it wise then in the lords of the soil, of the waters, and the minerals, to challenge investigation, nay, to force a scrutiny into their rights as hitherto established, by an attack on the rights of the poor? *They* have begun it: God knows where and when it may end. I agree with "Vaux-Brougham," that the question whether their lordships shall continue to possess their estates, is involved in the discussion now before them; and the decision to which they may now come will determine the final issue.



But his lordship tells us, that poor-laws (for he openly avows his hostility to *any* provision for the poor!) are injurious to the poor themselves. This puts me in mind of Sandy Young and his wife. The last glass of the last half-mutchkin stood on the table: "Weel, weel," said the laird, "to a' appearance weel na' be lang here; "sae" (raising the glass to his lips) "here's t' ye a'." "Stop, my dear," said the leddy: "Sandy, my man, it wud do ye ill: dinna tak it." Sandy set it down untasted. A few minutes had elapsed, when the deacon made another essay; but again desisted by persuasion of the deaconess; but, while the loving wife was absorbed in a tale of scandal with her left-hand companion, the voracious husband, without the ordinary prelude of "Here's t'ye," had the ardent at his mouth. "Stop!" said the friendly monitor, "it will do you ill"; pulling gently, not dashing from his lips the yet untasted potion: "Na, rather than let you do yersel' ill wi't, I'll drink it mysel"; and the kind soul absolutely swallowed the burning liquid! "Poh!" said Sandy, "she wanted it hersel'." So we poor folk, when the landlords and their toadeaters tell us that provision for us in sickness, indigence, or want of employment, would "do us ill," reply, "Poh! you want the whole to yourselves"; or, in the Lord Chancellor's own words, we will apply the *argumentum ad hominem*:—"When the poor (rich) knew that such a fund (*the land-rent*) existed; that they could call upon it for support; and that it was unnecessary for them to provide against the calamities incidental to human life, as here they had the means always ready furnished, and which they could claim as their own for their subsistence, the worst possible effects were produced upon their minds. The minds of the peasantry (*aristocracy*) were thus debased and vitiated; the habits of honest industry," &c.

Really, Mr. Cobbett, however much afraid we working people may be of disturbing the established distribution of

property, it is impossible for us to hear the reasons assigned for robbing the poor, without extending the same arguments so as to warrant the spoliation of the rich, especially the hereditary landlords. If it be unwise to give poor John Styles a few shillings weekly, and if this be hurtful to John himself and the other Stylesees, surely it must be worse to give to the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford the sum of (or any thing approaching to it) SIX THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY POUNDS, FIFTEEN SHILLINGS AND FOURPENCE-HALFPENNY A WEEK. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; and if John's allowance is, for John's good, to be taken from him, should not Stafford's allowance, for Stafford's good, be also taken from Stafford?

Poor Lord Chancellor! I hate, yet pity him. He has dug his own political grave, and himself kindled his own hell. To a man "voracious of fame," how great must be the torment of universal indignation, hatred, and contempt!

I intended to have sent you a full statement of the treatment of the poor in Dunfermline; but perhaps this is now unnecessary. The accompanying deposition I wrote from the lips of my friend, who signs it. I am satisfied it is correct.

Poor man's friend,  
I remain your friend and servant,  
THOS. MORRISON, Sen.

HENRY DAVIDSON SAYETH, — Some years ago, in walking along the Maygate, I saw a cart with people around it, at the door of the churchyard; and, on going forward, I observed in the cart an old woman in the greatest distress, apparently naked, and covered only with a piece of an old blanket; the day was cold and wet, I was asked by the people, whether I knew the poor woman; and, on closer observation, recognised her as an aunt! I learned that in that condition she had been carted from the next parish, Carnock, three miles distant, on the supposition of her settlement being in Dunfermline. I went into the session-house, where opportunely, as I thought,

were met on some special occasion, the heritors and kirk-session. To them I stated the condition of my poor friend, in terms as moving as I could employ; but was told by them, that her case had already been considered; and that their determination was to return her to the place from whence she came, and by the same conveyance. I then went out: and on more closely inspecting her condition found that she was in a dying state: and, when I told the people around the cart what was the determination of the heritors, ministers, and elders, they were shocked by its cruelty; and insisted on my returning to the session-house. This I did; and in stronger terms represented her situation; that her settlement was in Saline, about six miles distant, which parish would be liable for any expense incurred on her account here. Their answer was, "We will have nothing to do with her: take her yourself, and we will give you a half-a-crown, which we would have paid to the carter." I answered that my circumstances and situation rendered this impossible: I had only one room, and one bed for myself, wife, and child, &c.

Mr. Hunt of Pittencreeff said, it was a shame for me to say so, considering the situation in life which I had held. I answered, that I considered my present poverty as my highest honour. I continued to urge the necessity of doing something for her; but the replies were insolent and abusive. The Rev. Alan McLean then rose, and was about to leave the room, when I stepped between him and the door, and made a last appeal to his feelings as a man, and a Christian: but all I got from him in answer was, "*Let her be taken back to the place from whence she came*": and this brief sentence was uttered in a tone of arrogance, and in a manner so magisterial, that it is impossible for me to describe the feelings of grief, anger, and indignation, which it excited in my mind.

She was, indeed, and in terms of the sentence, taken back to Carnock, lifted out of the cart, laid down at the end of the parish school-house, and there

was left; and lay, till some of the poorest of the villagers carried her into a shed or out-house, where shortly after, while they were endeavouring to administer some simple cordials, *she died!*

HENRY DAVIDSON.

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## NO POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS!

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### BRITONS

WILL NOT BE  
SLAVES!

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## APPEAL TO THE KING.

A Bill, in very large type, of which the above is a copy, reached here from Sheffield this morning. Bills of the same kind are posted in *every* street in LONDON. It is not a little gratifying to see the manifestations of the spirit of the people. This is as it should be. But why not have begun sooner?

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## DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

ON THE

### POOR-LAWS AMENDMENT BILL,

(Concluded from p. 251.)

Lord ALVANLEY said, that it was not his practice to obtrude himself on their lordships' attention; but he was induced to depart from his usual habit by the important nature of the measure under discussion. He was perfectly convinced that the poor-laws, as they stood at present, would, if properly administered, remove all the evils respecting which their lordships had heard so much complaint, and which were, in fact only the effect of the maladministration of those laws. He therefore thought that the bill now on their lordships' table was unnecessary, but he particularly objected to it on the ground that it would prove destructive of that system of self-government under which this country had risen to its present state of prosperity. (Hear, hear). It was not his intention to go into the details of the measure, but should content himself with declaring that he was decidedly opposed to its principle, and to the establishment of the board of commissioners. (Hear). The powers which it was



proposed to confer on them were of the most despotic character, and far greater than any ever granted to a board in latter times. He was confident that this board of commissioners would render itself odious throughout the country by its constant interference in local, nay domestic concerns, and by destroying that connexion which existed at present, to the great advantage of both, between the poor man and his rich neighbour. (Hear). In support of the assertion he had made, that nothing more than an improved administration of the present poor-law was wanted, he felt it necessary to trouble their lordships with the statement of a few facts in reference to the condition of three parishes. The first parish to which he would direct their lordships' attention was Bingham. This parish was in 1817 in a state of great demoralization. The poor-rates amounted to 1,206*l.* on a rental of 7,489*l.*, and the number of paupers to 221. However, by the measures adopted by the Rev. Mr. Lowe, the clergyman attached to the parish, a great improvement was effected in its condition. The first thing he did was to refuse relief to persons out of the workhouse and the consequence of obliging all labourers who sought relief to go into the workhouse was to diminish the number of the applicants. The next step which he took was one which, on the first blush; had the appearance of harshness; he compelled the occupiers of small cottages to contribute to the poor-rates, however trifling their payment might be. The effect produced by this measure he would state to their lordships in Mr. Lowe's own words: "Where this has been done," said the rev. gentleman, "the tenants of cottages are more clamorous against those who receive relief than the rich." The result was, that in 1832 the poor-rates were reduced from 1,206*l.*, their amount in 1817, to 449*l.* In two other parishes, where similar means had been adopted, the same effect had been produced. In one, the parish of Southwell, the poor-rates in 1813 amounted to 1,381*l.* on a rental of 10,642*l.*, and in 1832 they were reduced to 417*l.*; and in the other, Uley, the poor-rates in 1830 amounted to 3,185*l.*, and in 1833 to only 800*l.* (Hear). These facts afforded a sufficient proof that the present bill was unnecessary; but he had another reason, which was paramount with him, for opposing its further progress. He could not help viewing with alarm the introduction into this country of a system which he firmly believed would sap the foundation of the prosperity of the British empire. The system to which he alluded had no English name, it was the French system of centralization. He would ask their lordships, how it happened that this country, in spite of every disadvantage, carried on a commerce a thousandfold greater than any other nation in the world, and enjoyed unexampled wealth and prosperity? How was it that this country had been able to retain the possession of colonies larger in extent than the Roman empire, in defiance of

the whole civilized world, which during the last war was opposed to her? The reason was, because the Government of this country had hitherto judiciously permitted every man in it to develop his talents in the manner he liked best. (Hear, hear). The country was intersected by canals and roads, covered with public works, and adorned by magnificent edifices. Could their lordships believe that this would have been the case if every man who wished to make a road, or construct a bridge, had been obliged to submit his plan to a Central Board des Ponts et Chaussées? (Hear, hear). The opinion which he entertained on this subject was confirmed by the observations of an enlightened foreigner. The Baron Dupin said, "What has the English Government done in so short a time to produce the public works which alone have occasioned the great results of which we have just given a picture? Nothing; it has allowed commerce and industry to act from themselves. It has thought that it did enough in assuring them protection in foreign countries, justice everywhere, and in the interior unbounded liberty." Thinking that these were the principles on which the Government of this country ought to be conducted, he felt bound to oppose the present bill, because he regarded it as the first step to the introduction here of the French system of centralization. (Hear).

The Earl of RADNOR concurred in the observations which had fallen from the noble Baron (Alvanley) with regard to a general system of centralization; but though the noble Lord had urged the continuance of a system of self-government, he must remind him that in many parishes this power became misgovernment; and hence it was that he supported the proposition for the establishment of a central board for at least a short period. He was surprised that the noble Baron (Alvanley) had not discovered that one part of his speech had answered another portion of his address. How came it, he (the Earl of Radnor) must inquire, that the measures which had been adopted under the system of self-government in particular places had not been adopted in the neighbouring parishes (hear, hear), and that they had not emulated the example (so much eulogized) set them by the parish of Bingham, and other places which had been enumerated? (Hear, hear). In order to obtain an effectual union, it was absolutely necessary that there should be a head able and qualified to carry the advantages of any system generally into effect, possessing the power to do so, and uniting such industry, perseverance and courage, as would secure the success of the scheme. He admitted that if it could be shown that every parish in England contained a Mr. Lowe or a Mr. Litchfield, then the establishment of a board of commissioners was unnecessary and uncalled for, but in the absence of such proof he must contend that the proposed plan was essential for the formation and preparation of rules and regulations that could not by any

individual parish be deviated from. This proposition would not have the effect, as had been contended, of superseding the law, but would rather be calculated to give it full and complete effect; for though every noble lord who had spoken had implied, that though the law was good, yet the administration was bad, the noble and learned Earl opposite had complained that the commissioners would be mere theorists. All rule and government was based upon theory, and these commissioners would be enabled to unite their theory with practice. (Hear, hear). He deprecated the anxiety expressed by some noble lords that this measure should be put off for another year, in order to afford them time to make inquiries in the country, because sufficient opportunities had already been granted, for it had been admitted that the grievances arising out of the present system had continued increasing for the last twenty years, and yet in the face of that increase nothing had been done. (Hear, hear). He denied that the provisions of the present bill would reduce the people of this country to a state of slavery. Much was said, it was true, of the powers given to the commissioners; but it was forgotten that at present the most offensive powers were vested, not in the hands of men of education, experience and learning, qualified in every respect to make rules and regulations, and to lay down just and equitable principles for the government of all parishes, but in the hands of overseers and guardians, whose mode of life (he spoke it not disrespectfully), whose occupations made them incapable of framing such regulations—in the hands of men open to all sorts and descriptions of bias and partiality. (Hear, hear). All these evils the central board would be calculated to remove. The objection as to the powers of these commissioners to compel the raising money, which had been raised by the noble and learned Baron opposite (Lord Wynford), in his opinion failed, for the bill itself limited those powers to the raising only of 50*L.*, and that still further limited to the purposes of repairing the workhouses. (Hear). On the whole, he conceived that it was essential the bill should be passed without unnecessary delay, not, however, without due deliberation, for he had witnessed the growing evils arising from the administration of the poor-laws. He was mainly anxious for the passing of this bill, because he was convinced that those from whom the rates were raised required this measure of relief, which he trusted their lordships would not refuse to afford them. (Hear, hear).

The Duke of WELLINGTON said that he felt called upon shortly to state the reasons why he should give his vote in favour of the second reading of this bill. (Hear, hear). In the first place, he must say that if it was proper to pass the bill, he was satisfied there was ample time during the present session to go through the committee with it, and regularly through all its stages, and that it was the duty

of their lordships, without any further loss of time, to proceed with a measure which, if necessary at all, was necessary now. (Hear). He should on this ground alone vote against the amendment for a postponement. (Hear, hear). He concurred with the noble and learned Lord on the woolsack, and with the noble Lord opposite, as to the necessity of this measure. He agreed first of all in the existence of grievances consequent upon the administration of the existing poor-laws, but he did not concur in the opinion expressed by the noble and learned Lord (the Lord Chancellor) in disapproval of the provisions of the statute of Elizabeth; but he did disapprove of a system of administration which differed in each and every of the 12,000 parishes in this country, and in each of which different and varied abuses had crept in. He maintained that it was impossible for Parliament to frame any law that could by possibility remedy or apply to the abuses which prevailed at the present moment—abuses which were as varied in their character as they were numerous. Hence it became absolutely necessary that such an appointment of a central board of commissioners should be made with powers to control the whole of the parishes in the land, and to adopt such remedies as would secure a same administration of the poor-laws throughout the country. The subject had been submitted to the House by several noble Lords, and had also been under the consideration of every Administration that he had known; but no plan had ever been suggested, or scheme proposed, to remove and remedy the evils of the existing laws, which in his judgment at all equalled the present, and for it he must return the noble Lords opposite, with whom it had originated, his sincere thanks. (Hear, hear). The present remedy for the evils of the existing laws was most unquestionably the best which had ever been devised; at the same time he must observe, that as the central board of commissioners must necessarily have very extraordinary and full powers, it would be necessary that they should keep such a record of their proceedings as should render them liable to the actual control at all times of the Government and Parliament of the country. He doubted much whether the provisions of this bill gave such a control to the Government as would afford a full knowledge to the Parliament at all times of the course pursued by the commissioners; but in committee on the bill he should consider whether some alteration was not necessary in order to make that control more active. There were several other clauses in the bill which required much alteration and modification. He entirely approved of the removal of the allowance system, which was one of the greatest evils arising from the existing poor-laws, but he was of opinion that it ought to have been gradually and slowly destroyed, and without a fixed day for its termination being specified in the bill. He would recommend



that this clause should be left out, and that power should be given to the commissioners to carry gradually such alterations in this respect into effect as to them might seem meet. With respect to the clauses of the bill relating to the laws of settlement and bastardy, he should reserve himself until the bill went into committee; and he should not have troubled their lordships with these few words but that he was anxious to declare his sentiments upon a bill which should have his support. (Hear, hear).

Lord SEGRAVE, in reference to what had fallen from the noble lord on the cross bench (Alvanley), with regard to the parish of Uley, said that he was acquainted with the respectable magistrate who had been referred to, and he could state, that whatever had been accomplished in that parish could not have been so from any personal or local influence of that individual, for he neither lived in the parish, nor did he act as a magistrate in the district in which it was situate.

Lord STOURTON made a few observations, as we understood, in support of the bill, but in a tone that was totally inaudible to us in the gallery.

Lord MELBOURNE said, that after the full and able statement which had been made by his noble and learned Friend on the woolsack, in support of the bill now before their lordships, it was scarcely necessary he should trouble their lordships with any observation; but such was the paramount importance of this measure, that he felt he should not discharge his duty if he allowed the bill to pass this stage without offering a very few words upon it. The bill was one of the greatest importance to every part of the British empire, to England especially; to Scotland, as it was calculated to make her persevere in that system which had been established by herself; and it was also of the deepest importance to Ireland, in order to teach those who advocated the introduction of poor-laws into that country what form should there be applied. (Hear, hear). This last subject was well known to be now under serious consideration (hear, hear), and he trusted it would be deliberated upon with that care, calmness, and patience which its importance deserved. He could not agree with those noble lords who wished for a postponement of the present bill. Such a course might be well for those who were opposed to, and wished to get rid of, the measure altogether, but those who felt that it would afford a remedy for existing evils, and considering that there was now ample time for a full consideration of the subject, would, he thought, concur with him in thinking that it would be the grossest absurdity, nay, almost madness and insanity, to lose the present opportunity of settling this great question. (Hear, hear). He had heard with much pleasure the speech of his noble Friend on the cross benches (Lord Alvanley), and he regretted that he could not entirely concur in the sentiments which had fallen from that

noble Lord. He knew the acuteness and power of mind possessed by his noble Friend, and was the more surprised to find how much he had misled and deceived himself on the present occasion. So long as he (Lord Melbourne) had thought on the subject of the poor-laws, nothing had struck him so forcibly as the great absurdity which arose from them of placing so heavy an amount of taxation under uncertain, temporary, and local control and government. (Hear, hear). The poor-rate was the heaviest direct tax levied in the country, and was equal in amount to the assessed taxes and the land tax put together,—nay, exceeding both those imposts by 1,500,000*l.*; indeed, in some parishes, the amount of poor-rates quadrupled that of the assessed and land taxes united. (Hear). Was it then not necessary that in a financial point of view some regulation should be made? (Hear). It was worse than the income tax, which had been objected to because it was a growing tax, and thereby afforded a temptation to the Government in time of need to put on, year after year, a little more, until they could confiscate the whole property of the country; for the poor-rate was a growing tax—increasing every year, secretly and silently; while an income tax could only be increased by the consent of the legislature openly and publicly obtained. (Hear, hear). Again the question of the poor-laws was still more important, because it involved the state of morals in the country. (Hear, hear). The subject was all-important, and he concurred with the noble Duke in the opinion that the evils were only to be remedied by a central board, armed with powers ample and sufficient for the duties it was destined to perform. With respect to the alterations which had been suggested in particular provisions of the bill, it would be time enough for him to enter upon them when the bill was in committee; for as far as he could collect the sense of the House, it appeared to him that their lordships concurred in the motion for the second reading of the bill, and he could not but congratulate the country upon the determination to which the House was likely to come in reference to this measure. (Hear, hear).

The Marquis of BUTE next addressed the House, but in so low a tone of voice as to be most indistinctly heard. The noble Marquis was understood to support the bill on the ground that he believed it to be calculated to benefit the honest and industrious classes, and to bring the gentry in nearer connexion and acquaintance with the wants of their fellow-countrymen.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said he would vote for the amendment of his noble and learned Friend (Lord Wynford). The noble Marquis read a long extract from a letter of Mr. Cartwright, one of the magistrates of Durham, in support of his view of the question.

The Duke of CLEVELAND denied that such were the opinions of the magistracy generally in the county of Durham: at all events he

had received no intimation from them against this measure.

Earl MANVERS would give his cordial and hearty support to the bill.

The Duke of RICHMOND said he would vote for this bill because he was aware of the evils in his own county that had arisen from the mismanagement of the poor-laws, and because he did not see proposed, and he could not himself propose, a better measure to meet such evils. He could not avoid, however, looking at the bill with considerable alarm, and he thought that some of the powers given by it were to be viewed with much jealousy and suspicion. (Hear). He trusted that regulations would be introduced to control the powers given to the commissioners, or that at all events the Secretary of State for the Home Department would watch the exercise of those powers with a jealous eye. He should have the utmost confidence in his noble Friend now at the head of the Government, if he filled the office,—that office, the duties of which he had so long discharged,—as he knew his opinions on the subject; but without any disparagement of the noble lord now appointed to that office, he (the Duke of Richmond) felt considerable anxiety on this point. If an effort should be made to introduce the system all at once, and per force on the country, the worst effects might be produced. He trusted that those in power, and whose duty it would be to watch over and superintend the conduct of the commissioners, instead of consulting and acting upon the advice of any inexperienced young man, who, however well informed on other subjects, might be deficient in information as to the practical state, especially of the more remote parishes in country districts—he trusted, he said, instead of acting on such advice, the Government would take care that the system was introduced gradually, and according to the results of practical experience. He knew many parishes in the country where, if they attempted to carry the regulations of the board into effect, a rebellion might be the consequence, or something a great deal worse than they had in 1830. (Hear, hear). He admitted, therefore, that he looked to the bill with considerable anxiety, and he again trusted that the Secretary of State for the Home Department would watch with peculiar care over the conduct of the commissioners. He voted for the measure because he found no better proposed. He should wish to see a clause introduced into it, authorizing the commissioners to give power to the rate-payers, where a majority of them decided on it, to establish a labour rate. In the committee he would probably propose a clause to that effect.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said, he merely rose to state, that nothing was farther from the intention of Government, and nothing farther from the object of the bill, than to force this change upon any district of the country without full inquiry, and, in short, taking into consideration all the local circumstances con-

nected with the place in question. With regard to the date referred to, when it was said that this measure was to introduce a totally different system all at once, it was a great mistake to suppose that the thing was to be done thus suddenly. What was intended by the fixing of that date was, that no change—not even in that worst abuse of the system, the allowance system—should take place until after that date. Until that allowance system was put an end to, it would be vain to attempt to raise the character of the people of England, or to restore amongst them those habits of industry and virtue for which they had been formerly so remarkable. The object of the measure was to liberate industry in every part of the country. His Majesty's Ministers would, in committee, be ready to listen to any amendments that were not opposed to the great principle of the measure.

The LORD CHANCELLOR replied.—In consequence of what had fallen from his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond) and some other noble lords, he had been thinking whether means might not be devised for increasing the responsibility of the commissioners (a very desirable thing he was ready to admit), and he would probably suggest in committee a clause founded on the principle of the clause inserted in the East India bill of last session, requiring the commissioners to keep a minute of all their proceedings, of all their discussions, of all their differences, &c., to be open at all times for the inspection of the Government, so that the Government would in such case, have full means of seeing how matters were managed, and what were all the circumstances connected with it. With regard to this measure he would say that the experience of two centuries and a half showed that they could not do without such a bill. As to centralization, and the effect which was attributed to such a system, interfering with every man's business, the poor-law system, especially as it had existed for the last 35 years, had, in a thousand times worse degree than any system of centralization, interfered with the business and pursuits of every man. The poor-laws centralized the mischief and localized it also, so as to make it ten thousand times worse than it ever would be under any system of centralization. He looked forward with the greatest confidence to the happiest results from this measure.

The House then divided upon the original motion that the bill be read a second time—

Content .....	76
Not Content.....	13

Majority for the second reading. 63

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1834.

**BANKRUPTS.**

BACK, R., Gardener's-lane, and Trig-wharf,  
Upper Thames-street, carman,



**EVANS, W. S.**, Robert-street, Bedford-row, bricklayer.

**M'INTOSH, H.**, Cambridge, tailor.

**MORLEY, J. W.**, Horncastle, Lincolnshire, surgeon.

**PEMBROKE, H.**, Cheapside, and King William-street, boot and shoe manufacturer.

**ROBERTS, T.**, Watling-street, wholesale-stationer.

**ROWLAND, J.**, Liverpool, victualler.

**THOMAS, S.**, St. Philip and Jacob, Gloucestershire, soap-manufacturer.

**TOONE, W.**, Lenton, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.

### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

**MENZLES, R.**, Perth, insurance-broker.

TUESDAY, JULY 28.

### INSOLVENTS.

**COLVIN, B. D.**, Calcutta, East Indies, merchant.

**OWEN, B.**, Regent-street, tailor.

**SKEATH, W.**, Davies-street, Berkeley-sq., saddler.

### BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

**ROBERTS, R.**, Carmarthen, draper.

### BANKRUPTS.

**ALDRIDGE, W.**, Maidenhead, Berkshire, chinaman.

**BAGNALL, E.**, Edgbaston, Warwickshire, ironmaster.

**BRATTON, J.**, Drayton-in-Hales, Shropsh., tanner.

**HAWKER, J. B.**, Montague-street, Portman-square, plumber.

**JAMES, S. C.**, Birmingham, pork-butcher.

**KAY, R.**, Manchester, rectifier of spirits.

**KESTEVEN, J. and J.**, Strand, mercers.

**THOMPSON, W. C.**, Liverpool, merchant.

### LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, July 28.**—The supplies of Wheat, coastways, from the home counties, as well as samples by land carriage, were moderate, to this morning's market. From Essex we received five small parcels of *new* wheat; the samples were coarse, and mostly inferior in colour, and not equal to the quality of last season, and worth about 52s. to 53s. The report was very generally circulated in market, that many of the samples would this year prove infected with *smut*. The trade ruled heavy, and sales were with difficulty effected at Tuesday's prices, being a reduction of 1s. to 2s. from the rates of this day se'night, leaving the market the same as this day fortnight. In bonded corn nothing doing.

Barley being in very limited supply, with a partial demand for grinding qualities, maintained the previous quotations.

Malt was dull sale, and prices barely supported.

The stands were well filled with Oats, and several parcels of foreign were offering ex-ship, duty paid. Dealers, as well as consumers therefore, until they have ascertained the quantity of the latter article likely to be entered for consumption, are unwilling to effect purchases, and the market was in consequence extremely heavy, at a decline of 1s. per qr. on the rates of last Monday. In bonded Oats, little actual business transpired, as the offers making were on lower terms than holders seemed inclined to accede to.

Beans in short supply, but as the article met little alteration, purchases might have been effected on lower terms.

The samples of old white Peas offering in bond, and the supply of new English quality rendered the trade heavy, and prices generally must be noted 1s. to 2s. per qr. lower. New white were worth from 48s. to 50s.; and new Hog, 38s. to 39s., though 40s. was demanded.

The arrival of ship Flour was limited, and fresh qualities realized freely last week's rates.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	44s. to 52s.
— White .....	49s. to 56s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire.....	41s. to 47s.
— White, ditto .....	45s. to 52s.
— West Country red.....	41s. to 46s.
— White, ditto .....	46s. to 52s.
— Northumberland and Berwickshire red..	38s. to 43s.
— White, ditto .....	40s. to 44s.
— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red.....	36s. to 42s.
— White, ditto .....	42s. to 44s.
— Irish red .....	37s. to 41s.
— White, ditto .....	39s. to 42s.
Barley, Malting .....	30s. to 32s.
— Chevalier .....	30s. to 32s.
— Distilling .....	30s. to 31s.
— Grinding.....	27s. to 30s.
Malt, new.....	37s. to —s.
— Norfolk, pale.....	50s. to 57s.
— Ware .....	52s. to 55s.
Peas, Hog and Grey .....	36s. to 40s.
— Maple .....	40s. to 42s.
— White Boilers .....	45s. to 49s.
Beans, Small .....	31s. to 36s.
— Harrow .....	31s. to 36s.
— Tick.....	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed .....	21s. to 22s.
— Short, small .....	24s. to 26s.
— Poland .....	21s. to 24s.
— Scotch, common .....	21s. to 22s.
— — Potato .....	21s. to 25s.
— — Berwick .....	24s. to 25s.
— Irish, Galway, &c. ....	21s. to 22s.
— — Potato .....	24s. to 25s.
— — Black .....	21s. to 22s.
Bran, per 16 bushels .....	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack .....	43s. to 46s.

## PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset .....	40s. to —s.	per cwt.
— Cambridge ....	40s. to —s.	
— York .....	38s. to —s.	
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	42s. to 62s.	
— Single ditto, ...	44s. to 48s.	
— Cheshire .....	54s. to 74s.	
— Derby .....	50s. to 60s.	
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.	
— Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.	

SMITHFIELD, July 28.

This day's supply of Beasts and Porkers was rather limited, and the former, for the most part, of but middling quality; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, and Calves, moderately good. Trade, owing to advanced prices being pretty generally and stiffly demanded, was, throughout, dull:—Say, with Beef, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d., Veal, 2d. per stone: with Mutton and Lamb at fully, Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

The Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns, Herefords, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with, perhaps, about fifty Town's-end Cows, a few Sussex Beasts, Staffords, &c.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, old Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About two-thirds of the Lambs, the whole of which numbered about 5,700, were Southdowns; and the remainder new Leicesters of different crosses, with a few pens of Dorsets, Kentish half-breds, &c.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, in about equal numbers of short-horns, Herefords, Welsh Runts, and Irish Beasts, with, perhaps, 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts; about 150, chiefly Scots, with a few Runts, Devons, and home-breds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 130, chiefly Herefords and Devons, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 30, chiefly Runts, Devons, and Irish Steers, with a few Sussex Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the London marshes.

Hamburgh, July, 1834.

**H**EINE BROTHERS, in Hamburgh, Contractors for the Great Lottery, published and drawn by authority of the Government, and under guarantee of the Honourable Board of Treasury of Hamburgh, beg to inform,

that the 64th Lottery of 12,000 Tickets will be drawn on the 1. October next, and Tickets are now selling at 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l*. 10s. sterling. The Prizes are:—150,000, 60,000, 30,000, 25,000, 20,000, 15,000, 10,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 14 per cent., and four of 6,000, eight of 3,000, fifteen of 2,000, twenty-five of 1,000 marks, liable to a deduction of 10 per cent., besides 1171 minor Prizes of various amounts, the smallest of which, after the deductions, leaves a net provenue of 113 Marks Banco, or 8*l*. 10s. sterling. 2,970 Tickets gain two Free Tickets each, and 7,770 Tickets only get nothing. Those desirous to purchase are requested to direct for full Schemes with all the particulars and for Tickets to the above-named Contractors, Heine Brothers, in Hamburgh, who have no objection to receive payment for the cost of 8*l*. 10s. sterling per Ticket in Bank of England, Scotland, or Ireland Notes. It is recommended to address them by one of the first mails, as the Cost of the Tickets will rise very soon.

93, FLEET-STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

**S**WAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

*The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:*

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths .....	2	10	0	to	3	5	0
Ditto, Blue or Black .....	3	5	0		3	15	0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black .....	3	13	6	& upwards			
Superfine Fröck, with Silk Facings .....	3	10	0	to	4	0	0
Ditto Trowsers .....	1	0	0		1	10	0
Summer Trowsers .....	0	14	0		1	1	0
Kerseymere Waistcoats .....	0	12	0		0	14	0
Marseilles Ditto .....	0	8	0		0	10	6
Valencia and Toilenet .....	0	10	6		0	14	0
Silk Ditto .....	0	16	0		1	0	0
A Suit of Livery .....	4	4	0		4	10	0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

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